

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O R 070820Z JUL 78
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
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AMCONSUL ADANA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMCONSUL IZMIR
USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 4978

EXDIS-MIL ADDRESSES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE
C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - TEXT
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, TU, GR
SUBJ: RESULTS OF GREEK AND TURKISH SECGENS JULY 4 MEETING

1. DURING A CALL ON SECGEN ELEKDAG JULY 6, HE
REVIEWED FOR ME THE RESULTS OF HIS JULY 4-5 TALKS
WITH GREEK SECGEN THEODOROPOULOS. ELEKDAG CHARACTERIZED
THE RESULTS AS "PROMISING" AND HIS GREEK COLLEAGUE AS
"REASONABLE AND RESPONSIBLE".

2. ELEKDAG, WHO WAS AS ENTUSIASTIC AS I HAVE EVER
SEEN THIS CAUTIOUS DIPLOMAT, SAID THAT HE HAD PROPOSED

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A FIVE POINT "PROGRAM FOR PEACE" WHICH THEODOROPOULOS
HAD ACCEPTED. THE PROGRAM CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING
ELEMENTS:

A. THE NEGOTIATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT
THAT WOULD "RESTORE" GREEK/TURKISH RELATIONS.

B. THE NEGOTIATION OF AN AEGEAN AIRSPACE AGREEMENT.

C. THE NEGOTIATION OF AN AGREEMENT COVERING THE
AEGEAN CONTINENTAL SHELF.

D. THE PURSUIT OF THE ABOVE THREE SEPARATE
NEGOTIATIONS SIMULTANEOUSLY.

E. THE CONTINUANCE OF THE SECGENS' "DIALOGUE".

3. ELEKDAG SAID THAT THE COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT WOULD BE DESIGNED TO PUT TO REST LONG-HELD MUTUAL SUSPICIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, THIS AGREEMENT WOULD CONTAIN A STATEMENT PROCLAIMING THE INVIOABILITY OF COMMON BORDERS BASED ON THE 1923 LAUSANNE AND 1947 PEACE TREATIES. THIS, HE SIAD, WOULD REASSURE THE GREEKS WITH RESPECT TO PERCEIVED TURKISH DESIGNS ON THE GREEK ISLANDS OFF TURKEY'S COAST. FOR TURKEY--WHICH HAS STATED THAT AN INCREASE IN GREEK TERRITORIAL WATERS BEYOND SIX MILES WOULD BE A CASUS BELLI--THERE WOULD BE A STATEMENT "MAINTAINING" THE PRESENT LIMITS. ELEKDAG ALSO SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE A "NON-AGGRESSION" CLAUSE IN LIEU OF A "NON-AGGRESSION PACT", AS PROPOSED BY THE GREEKS, OR A "FRIENDSHIP TREATY", AS PROPOSED BY THE TURKS (APPARENTLY EACH SIDE TABLED A DOCUMENT).

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4. ON THE AIRSPACE AGREEMENT, ELEKDAG SAID THAT THE GREEKS ARE WILLING TO RESCIND THEIR "UNILATERAL 3,000 SQUARE MILE EXTENSION OF AIRSPACE" AND THEIR DIECTIVES ON EXERCISE ZONES AND AIR DEFENSE IDENTIFICATION. ELEKDAG SAID THAT HE HAD TOLD THE GREEKS THAT THIS EXPRESSION OF THEIR GOOD WILL WAS APPRECIATED BUT THAT RESCINDING WHAT HAD BEEN UNILATERALLY AND ILLEGALLY IMPOSED WAS NOT A CONCESSION TO TURKEY. HE SAID THAT IN THIS NEGOTIATION THE STICKING POINT WAS THE GREEK CLAIM THAT THEIR NATIONAL AIRSPACE EXTENDS TEN MILES OUT TO SEA. THE GREEKS SAID THIS CLAIM WAS ESTABLISHED BY A 1931 ACT OF THE GREEK PARLAIMENT BUT ELEKDAG PAOINTED OUT THIS DID NOT HAVE THE FORCE OF AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT AND MOST NATIONS HAD REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE (EG INCLUDING ITALY) THE AIRSPACE CLAIMED BY GREEKS. ELEKDAG SAID THAT TURKEY WAS NOT PREPARED TO COMPROMISE OR EVEN TO "AGREE TO DISAGREE- ON THE TEN MILE AIRPASCE, WHICH WOULD GIVE 40-45 PCT OF THE AEGEAN AIRSPACE TO GREECE AND EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER 75 PCT OF IT. ON THE OTHER HAND, EVEN ON WHAT ELEKDAG ADMITTED TO BE A CARDINAL POINT FOR GREECE, HE SIAD THAT THEODOROPOULOS HAD AGREED TO "TAKE

ANOTHER LOOK", AND TO PUT THE ISSUE ASIDE WHILE THE
OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE AIRSPACE AGREEMENT WERE NEGOTIATED.

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EXDIS-MIL ADDRESSES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

5. ON THE AEGEAN SEABED, ELEKDAG SAID THAT NEGOTIATIONS
WOULD BE RENEWED UNDER THE BERN AGREEMENT AND THE GOT
WOULD BE "REINFORCING" ITS NEGOTIATING TEAM. BOTH SIDES
PROMISED THAT THE EXCAHNGE WOULD BE A "SUBSTANTIVE" ONE
AND HE EXPECTED REAL BUSINESS COULD BE DONE.

6. THE FOURTH ELEMENT OF THE ELEKDAG PLAN WAS THAT BOTH
SECGENS AGREED THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE PUSHED ON ALL
THREE FRONTS SIMULTANEOUSLY SO THAT A "MISSING PIECE OF
TE MOSAIC IN ONE NEGOTIATION MIGHT BE FOUND IN ANOTHER
AGREEMENT". BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THEY WOULD FREELY
TABLE ANY IDEA THAT MIGHT LEAD TO A COMPROMISE BUT THAT
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UNTIL THE FINAL PACKAGE OF AGREEMENTS WAS CONCLUDED, NEITHER SIDE WOULD HOLD THE OTHER TO ANY PROPOSAL THAT HAD THUS BEEN TENTATIVELY RAISED NOR EXPOSE THE OTHER'S PROPOSALS FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL ADVANTAGE. FOR THIS REASON, COMPLETE SECRECY WOULD BE MAINTAINED ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

7. FINALLY, ELEKDAG SAID THAT BOTH THE SECGENS HAD AGREED TO MEET AS OFTEN AS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE NEXT MEETING WILL BE IN ATHENS IN SEPTEMBER.

8. I TOLD ELEKDAG THAT ON THE EVE OF THE EMBARGO VOTE IT WAS PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO KNOW ABOUT THE IMPORTANT FIRST STEPS THAT HE HAD MADE IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE GREEK/TURKISH DISPUTES. ALTHOUGH ENTHUSIASTIC, ELEKDAG WAS FRANKLY SURPRISED AT THE "REASONABLE" GREEK ATTITUDES DURING THE TALKS. EH OPINED THAT, PERHAPS, THE GREEKS WERE UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE EC-9 WHICH HAD, HE SAID, TOLD GREECE THAT IT SHOULD RESOLVE ITS PROBLEMS BEFORE JOINING THE COMMON MARKET AND NOT TO MAKE GREEK PROBLEMS THOSE OF THE COMMUNITY.
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